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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 31/81)



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INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET GLOSSARY OF ISLAMIC TERMS

Moscow ISLAM V YUGO-VOSTOCHNOY AZII, PROBLEMY SOVREMENNOY IDEYNOY EVOLYUTSII ("Islam in Southeast Asia; Problems of Contemporary Ideological Evolution"), in Russian 1981 (signed to press 1 June 1981) pp 257-260

[Index of Muslim Terms from Book "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Contemporary Ideological Evolution," by A.I. Ionova, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," 5,000 copies, 262 pages]

[Excerpt] Index of Muslim Terms*

Abangan--Indonesian, chiefly Javanese, Muslims who do not perform all of the prescriptions of Islam in the proper way and whose religious ideas include elements of pre-Islamic beliefs.

Agama--the Muslims of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore connect the concept of "faith, religion, belief" with this term; Philippine Muslims, in addition, identify it with the designation for the parish of one or another mosque, and also for a local territorial-administrative unit.

Adat -- ordinary law which takes account of local pre-Islamic traditions.

Amirol Umra--the title of the possessor of supreme political power in an "Islamic State."

Bida--an innovation which is incompatible with the Koran and the Sunna.

Bilal--in many areas of Indonesia this is the name given to the mosque attendant who keeps the mosque in order and summons the Muslims to prayer.

Wakf--property which has been bequeathed by the state or by a private person for philanthropic-religious purposes and which is not subject to taxation. In various

* In composing the index information was used from the "Islamic Encyclopedia" written by the Indonesian theologian Husein Munaf (see 129), and also from appendices to individual publications (see 509, pp 199-212).

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places in Southeast Asia there are modifications of this term--Wakaf, Wakap, and Wakuf.

Wali--the first disseminator of Islam in one or another area of Indonesia, especially Java.

Wali Ulil Amri--the title of the political leader of Indonesian Muslims which, according to the interpretation of local Ulamas, does not give its bearer absolute authority in purely religious matters, but obliges him to use his personal influence for the purpose of maintaining and defending Islam.

Guru--a religious mentor who gives instruction in the reading and interpretation of the Koran.

Darul Harb--"sphere of war." In Muslim theology this is declared to be a territory on which there are states whose populations profess or do not profess Islam but live under the principles of "faithless rulers."

Darul Islam--the "sphere of Islam" which is under the authority of Muslim sover-eigns and is ruled according to the laws of the Shariat.

Datu--the title of a Philippine feudal lord, the head of an Agama.

Jihad--a "war for the faith" which is a holy war against the "faithless" that is included by Islam among the religious duties of Muslims.

Diakat--a term which among the Philippine Muslims means a religious tax for the benefit of the poor.

Zakat--the name which is customary in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore for mandatory alms which are paid to widows, orphans, poor people, and people whose careers consist of service to Islam.

Zakat Al-Fitrah--religious alms which are distributed at the conclusion of the Muslim fast.

 $\label{limination} \mbox{Ijma--one of the "roots" of the Muslim law which signifies a unanimous decision by authorative $$Mujtahid-legal scholars.$

Ijtihad--the principle of independent judgement on the basis and within the limits of the Koran, and also of the Sunna.

Imam--in everyday use, the intercessor at public prayers in the mosque; with Philipine Muslims--the cleryman in charge of a chapel; in the everyday notions of the Sunnites of Southeast Asia--an authoritative expert on Islam.

Imamat -- the dogma regarding the possession of spiritual power in an "Islamic State."

Iman--the term for the designation of faith. It presupposes inner faith (I'tikad), its profession in words (Ikrar), and good deeds (A'mal').

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Kadi--a Shariat judge in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. In the Philippines and in the countries of Indochina he is called a Kali.

Kaum Muda--in Indonesian, Malay (Malaysia), Singapore, and Thailand the name given by local Muims to the foretellers of Islamic reform (literally--"the young ones").

Kaum Tua--literally--"old men, older generation"; a term which designates the opponents of "Kaum Muda."

Kafir--"lacking in faith," a non-believer, a non-Muslim.

Kiyas—one of the "roots" of Muslim law; it means the deduction of a logical conclusion on some concrete question on the basis of seeking an analogy in the Koran or in the hadiths.

Koran--the sacred book of the Muslims, a collection of sermons, precepts, and dictums which the Prophet Mohammed reported at different times to his followers as a revelation sent to him from God.

Kiyi--the honorary title of a Muslim teacher in Indonesia, chiefly in Java.

Langgam--with Philippine Muslims the name of a chapel.

Madrasa—the name which is widespread throughout all of Southeast Asia for Muslim schools of the modernized type in which, along with Islam, general educational subjects are studied.

Mazhab -- a legal school in Sunnite law.

Masjad--the name for a mosque in most of the countries of Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Philippines where a different term is current--Mosgit.

Maulud--a religious festival devoted to celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed.

Modin--the clergyman in charge of a rural mosque in Indonesia, or the junior clargyman in a neighborhood and also cathedral mosque. In Malaysia and in Singapore--the person who maintains order in the mosque and summons the Muslims to prayer.

Moulvi--the title of a Muslim teacher-theologian in Burma.

Mujahid--the name of a participant in a "Holy War."

Mujtahid--a representative of the highest category of Muslim theologian-legal experts who has the right to issue Fetwas.

Munafik--the designation for "hypocrites," those who formally follow Islam, but actually oppose it.

Musyawarah--the principle of the joint discussion of matters with special consideration for the opinion of the "wisest."

Mufakat--a unanimous decision which follows from a preceding Musyawarah, all of whose participants are regarded as equally responsible for the decision.

Mufti--an official who issues Fetwas and who is officially recognized as an authority in matters of Muslim law.

Naib--a clergyman in a city mosque; sometimes a junior clergyman in a rural mosque in Indonesia.

Pesantren--the name of a Muslim school of the traditional type in Central and East-ern Java; in Madura this kind of school is called a Penyantren, and in Acha--a Rongkong.

Pitra--among the Philippine Muslims--irregular charity for the benefit of the poor.

Pondok--the name of a rural Muslim school of the traditional type in Malay (Malaysia) and Western Java, and also of a modernized Muslim school in Thailand.

Rakat--a specific complex of prayer poses, gestures, and formulas which are part of the prayer procedure.

Riba--the prohibition against loan interest and other "interest" which is contained in the Koran and the Sunna.

Rububiyat -- the thesis concerning God as the "ruler of the worlds" and their protector.

Sayid -- the title of a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed.

Saik--the title of a highly authoratative Muslim teacher-theologian in the Philippines.

Sadika Mieto--religious alms among the Philippine Maranao.

Santri--the name for pious Muslims in Indonesia, and also for the graduates and pupils of Islam schools of the traditional type.

Sarip--the title of a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed in the Philippines.

Sultan--the title of a Muslim monarch in pre-colonial and colonial Indonesia, Malay, Borneo, and the Philippines.

Sunna--Muslim tradition based on the hadiths and including the norms of state, criminal, property, and family law.

Sura -- the designation for a chapter of the Koran.

Suro--the name for a chapel in individual areas of Indonesia, and also for a traditional type Muslim school in Malay and Western Sumatra.

Takbil-the custom of kissing the hand of a Sayid which is widespread in Malay (Malaysia), Singapore, and Indonesia.

Takwa--the thesis concerning the "fear of God" and submission to the will of the All-High.

Takdir--the dogma concerning predestination and the impossibility of changing the fate which has been prepared for a person by God.

Taklid--the principle of absolute compliance with the authorities of the Muslim Middle Ages.

Tarekat -- the name of Suffite fraternal association.

Tauhid--the dogma of monotheism.

Ulama--a representative of the stratum of Muslim theologian-legal experts in the countries of Southeast Asia, with the exception of Burma where the term Ulema is used.

Ulil Amri--the title of the political leader of a Muslim community.

Umma -- the name of the world religious community of Muslims.

Fakir--a beggar-ascetic devoted to "service to Islam."

Fetwa--a religious-juridical conclusion given by a Mufti and a Mujtahid. In a number of places in Southeast Asia this conclusion has another name--Fatwa.

Fikh--Muslim canonical law.

Haji--the title of a Muslim who has made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hadas -- the tradition concerning the words and deeds of the Prophet Mohammed.

Halif--the title of the chief of an "Islamic State" who is recognized as the "deputy and vice regent of Mohammed."

 $\label{thm:continuous} \begin{tabular}{ll} Halifat-- the Sunnite postulate regarding a theoretically organized Umma whose Halif possesses political (Emirat) and spiritual (Imamat) power. \end{tabular}$

Hijra--the resettlement by the Prophet Mohammed and his supporters from Mecca to Medina in 622. An event which is at the basis of the calendar in Islam.

Hisba--the service of supervision over the fact that morals and social life are in strict correspondence with the prescriptions of the Koran and the Shariat.

Hotba--the sermon which is said during the Friday prayer. In certain places of the region this sermon is called Hutba.

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Hotib--the assistant to the Imam who says the Hotba. In the Philippines and in Malay he is sometimes called Katib.

Shariat -- the canonical law in Islam.

Syahada--the formula for the profession of faith: "There is no divinity besides Allah, and Mohammed is the Emissary of Allah."

Syeih--the title of a highly respected Muslim teacher-theologian, or head of a Suffite Tarekat.

Emirat--the principle of the possession of political power over the Umma.

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ROMAN CATHOLIC-LITHUANIAN NATIONALIST TIES ATTACKED

Minsk VESTSI AKADEMII NAVUK BELARUSKAI SSR, SERYYA GRAMADSKIKH NAVUK in Belomussian No 5, 1981 pp 137-141

[Article by L. B. Vileytene, K. S. Prakoshyna, and E. K. Darashevich: "Critique of the Ideology of Catholicism"]

[Text] The importance of investigation of the role and place of religion and especially the nature and content of its influence on society is increasing in present-day conditions. The Catholic Church represents the largest segment of Christianity. It influences the intellect and will of many millions of people throughout the world, including in a number of socialist countries. Catholicism possesses a powerful, centralized hierarchy, at the head of which stands the Pope of Rome with his state — the Vatican. The Catholic Church has had a great deal of experience in the area of exerting ideological influence on people and employs methods of influencing their consciousness which for centuries have been put to the practical test of history. It has utilized and continues to employ various means of maintaining its power over people.

The Catholic Church retains a certain influence on a portion of the population of the USSR, for the most part in the western areas of the Ukraine and Belorussia, in Lithuania and Latvia. Ideological criticism of Catholicism, its philosophy, methods and means of religious influence on the masses, and analysis of religious propagation activities are of particularly current significance in this region. As a consequence of historical conditions, the Catholic Church exerted considerable influence in Lithuania, and therefore it is not mere happenstance that Soviet Lithuania has become one of the principal centers of criticism of Catholicism, its history and present state in conditions of the present-day ideological struggle. All-union scientific and regional conferences on critical analysis of the philosophical and sociopolitical concepts of contemporary Catholicism are periodically held here.

The Department of philosophy, law and sociology at the LiSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History was established in 1969; it became an independent institute in 1977. One of the important areas of its activity is critique of contemporary Catholic philosophy and clerical anticommunism. Lithuanian scholars have made a substantial contribution to the elaboration of many current problems, especially pertaining to the aspects of the diverse relationship between bourgeois ideology and religion. This is particularly important since contemporary anticommunists view

religion in conditions of socialism as the only legal institution which is alienated from the socialist society, around which they would like to group various hostile elements.

These problems are studied chiefly by the criticism of contemporary bourgeois philosophy sector, which was organized in 1975 (sector chief, A. Gaydis), where problems of criticism of contemporary Catholic philosophy and clerical anticommunism are handled by B. Kuzmickas, I. Zaksas, B. Deksnis, A. Sverdiulas, Ye. Vasilevskis, and others. Other scholars of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences also work with this problem area -- V. Niumka, I. Matsavichus, Ya. Minkyavichus, Yu. Barzdaytis, A. Balsis, Y. Anichas, and O. Ruzhelite.

Critique of religious carryovers and the campaign against clerical anticommunism is one of the principal areas of focus of this republic's philosophical literature. Several aspects should be emphasized here. First of all, study of the traditions of materialist philosophy in Lithuanian social thought. The writings of R. Pleckaitis, Ya. Minkyavichus, Yu. Barzdaitis, I. Matsavichus, B. Genselis, I. Zaksas, and A. Grishka persuasively show that strong materialist traditions were established in the history of Lithuanian sociopolitical thought, traditions which were reflected in various forms and were essentially directed against religious ideology.3 Secondly, diversified critique is leveled at attempts by members of the clergy to justify religion with the aid of the arguments of ethics and to distort the materialist world view, which allegedly devalues and levels man (A. Gaydis, I. Zaksas, V. Deksnis).4 Thirdly, the specific conditions of this republic give current importance to a critical analysis of the relationship between religion and nationalism. Monographs by Ya. Minkyavichus and writings by A. Balsis, V. Lazutka, and L. Shnipas investigate with concrete historical materials the complex interrelationship between religion and nationalism. 5 The concept of the indivisibility of the national and the religious originated in the prebourgeois society, but bourgeois ideologues took it up as a polemical weapon.

There arise in the contemporary exploiter society many conflicts of a national and confessional nature, in the existence and aggravation of which the reactionary forces of imperialism have an interest. Bourgeois nationalism and clericalism are unified by the anti-Marxist idea of a "class peace," denial of the opposing nature of the interests of antagonistic classes. Marxist-Leninist philosophy rejects the assertion of an inseparable bond between religion and national forms of societal affairs. Carryovers of the past, however, especially nationalist and religious, anticommunist forces seek to revive, to preserve, to link one with the other. Take "clericalized nationalism," for example, with the aid of which the forces of imperialist reaction seek to profit on national and religious feelings, to revive nationalist attitudes, supported by religion, and to utilize nationalist arguments to support religion. The writings of the above-named Soviet Lithuanian authors present a fundamental theoretical critique of such ideological actions by anticommunism.

Soviet Lithuanian social scientists carefully analyze the affairs of the Lithuanian emigré community, especially its ideological currents, their social-class essence, philosophical and ideological-political orientation. And this is for good reason, for quantitatively the Lithuanian emigré community is quite large (more than 500,000 persons), and heterogeneous in composition. Groups of various orientation are taking

active part in the contemporary ideological and political struggle. The most significant studies on the Lithuanian emigré community have come out in recent years. These include "Ideological Currents in the Lithuanian Emigré Community" and "The Baltic Reactionary Emigré Community Today."6 The former presents a well-argued critique of clerical and bourgeois-nationalist concepts. The authors analyze from a Marxist position the forming of the Lithuanian emigré community and trace its history -- class, ideological, and political differentiation. Predominant in the progressive wing of the emigré community were labor and democratically oriented cultural leaders. The majority of these became consciously involved in the class struggle and in the socialist and Communist movement in the United States. They formed their worker organizations, progressive publications (the newspapers VILNIS, HVALYA, LAISVE (Freedom), and the magazine SVIESA (Light)). They fought actively against the oppression of the monopolies and political reaction in the countries where emigrés resided. Today progressive Lithuanian emigrés expose the inventions of bourgeois propaganda about Soviet Lithuania and disseminate objective and truthful information on the life of the Lithuanian people today.

The reactionary emigré community consisted of representatives of various class strata of the middle and petite bourgeoisie, labor aristocracy, bourgeois intellectuals, and clergy, and aligned with clericals, bourgeois liberals, and rightist socialists. They have waged and continue to wage an implacable struggle against progressive emigrés and take part in the anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign being conducted by imperialist forces in the West.

An important aspect of the ideological struggle of the two opposing groups in the Lithuanian emigré community is revealed by the authors, discussing the campaign by progressives against clericalism. The difficulties of this struggle are obvious, for it is taking place in conditions of a bourgeois society and anticommunist actions, which of course are supported by the Vatican. The progressive emigré press stresses the political nature of clericalism, its link with anticommunism, and exposes the reasons for the strengthening of clericalism in the Western countries and its reactionary role in spread of anticommunist psychosis in some countries. It reveals the hypocritical nature of clerical slogans and demonstrates that clericals not only failed to condemn fascist crimes in Lithuania but ever protected many of the participants in these crimes. The progressive emigré press reveals the commitment of clerical strata to the encouragement of hostility between religious believers and nonbelievers in Soviet Lithuania. Clericals disseminate fabricated concoctions about oppression of believers with the aim of gaining political capital. The acute, unceasing debate between the progressive emigré community and the clericals constitutes a contribution to the campaign for peace, democracy, and social progress.

Soviet Lithuanian scholars have made a critical analysis of the religious-philosophical modernism of representatives of the clerical wing of the Lithuanian emigré community (A. Matseyna, Yu. Girnyus, and others). In their writings these clericals speak of the decline of the bourgeois society, the crisis of religion, and see unresolvable conflicts in the process of modernization of Catholicism. All this leads them to pessimistic conclusions in regard to the future of human society; they reduce the basic conflicts in today's world to the opposition between religion and atheism and its replacement of class conflicts. On this "theoretical" foundation they criticize traditional conservative anticommunism, adhering to more

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flexible anticommunist doctrines. Modernist theorizing is revealed in philosophical and psychological defense of the idea of the necessity of "God for man." There are also powerful trends of conservative anticommunism within the Lithuanian clerical emigré community, which oppose any possibility of cooperation and dialogue with Marxists.

Exposure by Soviet scholars of clerical doctrines from a Marxist position promotes the current campaign by the progressive emigré community against the religious—philosophical substantiation of anticommunism and helps emigrés understaná the political significance of religious philosophizing. This narrows the base for the activities of anticommunist emigré organizations. The authors of these monographs reach a well-substantiated conclusion on the deepening of the crisis within the Lithuanian reactionary—nationalist emigré community. New forces are maturing within this community, which are rejecting reactionary currents and groups. They are sincere in their desire for closer contacts and cooperation with the "old country." And one cannot help but see the contribution of Soviet Lithuanian scholars to this.

In another collective monograph entitled "The Baltic Reactionary Emigré Community Today," written by scholars from the Soviet Baltic republics, the reactionary role of the ideological and political struggle of the rightist camp within the Baltic emigré community as "stooges of the most reactionary forces of imperialism" in the capitalist countries of the West in the campaign against peace, the principles of peaceful coexistence and international détente is exposed. Various falsifications by the bourgeois-nationalist emigré community of the problems of religion and the church in the Soviet Baltic are aimed at distorting the guarantees of freedom of conscience in the Soviet Baltic republics. The methods and techniques of this falsification, as the authors demonstrate, are standard, based on bankrupt, unsubstantiated stereotypes -- "persecution of faith," "state atheism," "churchcollaborator," etc. The clerical emigré community, which ignores the objective process of the growth of atheism under socialism, is guided by the "imperatives of anticommunism" and preaches the ineradicableness and permanence of religion; it assigns the Catholic Church an especially important role as a force capable of impeding the formation and inculcation of Communist ideals in the consciousness of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

Soviet scholars expose acts of ideological sabotage by the clerical Baltic emigré community, juggling of facts by the clergy, backed up by a wealth of factual material, which attests to achievement of genuine freedom of conscience in the Soviet society and the steady growth of atheist consciousness in the Soviet people.

In the postwar period Soviet Lithuanian scholars have thoroughly studied not only the Catholic religion as a social institution and its psychological premises, "mechanisms" of influencing the consciousness of the average individual, but also its theoretical foundations, its philosophical and sociopolitical concepts and their corresponding institutions. Here we should mention first of all the writings of LiSSR Academy of Sciences Academician V. Niunka -- "From Vatican I to Vatican II," "The Social Myths of Catholicism," "The Vatican and Anticommunism," "Clerical Parties and the Vatican," plus a number of other publications. The author analyzes the sociopolitical orientation of the Vatican and its "new Eastern policy." V. Niunka devotes particular attention in his writings to the genesis and evolution of Catholic clerical anticommunism, exposes its ideological actions

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directed against the socialist countries, and examines the aggregate of organizations of Catholic clericalism, first of all the clerical parties and their political and ideological activities. V. Niunka analyzes the social program of these parties and reveals their true role in the capitalist world which, in spite of all assurances that they have no relationship with capital, boils down to defending the foundations of the capitalist system and drawing working people away from the class struggle.

The profound sociopolitical conflicts which are tearing apart the capitalist society are illustrated in the first encyclical of Pope John Paul II, "Redemptor Hominis." V. Niunka has also analyzed this encyclical in his writings. The author notes the Christocentric character of the first encyclical of John Paul II. The new pope views as the main task of the Church its influence on the consciousness of all mankind, Christianization of the entire world, and one of the essential elements of this task is concern over man's earthly affairs. The encyclical acknowledges that in order for "human life to become human," it is necessary "to reform the structure of economic affairs." The encyclical "Redemptor Hominis," however, essentially advocates reforms which at best could mitigate the social contrasts of the capitalist society, that is, emphasize the reformist movement which has long been advocated by Catholic social doctrine.

We must also mention some writings dealing with the contemporary problems of Catholicism in the USSR, in specific regions. Of great significance are the writings of J. J. Anicas, which deal with the history of Catholic clericalism in Lithuania. They present a fundamental, multifaceted, principled critique of the reactionary essence of Lithuanian clerical anticommunism. One of the most recent monographs, entitled "Evolution of Catholicism in Conditions of Socialism,"10 written jointly with I. Maciulis, shows how in conditions of aggravation of the ideological struggle, clerical emigrés are attempting to utilize religion and the church for anti-Soviet purposes. Clerical ideologues attempt to present the objective process of liberation of the consciousness of working people from the influence of religion and the church as forced eradication of religion, and the logical process of secularization in Soviet Lithuania as denationalization. They attempt to argue that the Lithuanian nation remains Catholic, in the confessional sense antagonistic in relations with the socialist system. The authors persuasively reveal the unscientific nature of the methodology of bourgeois science of religion, which examines religion out of context with socioeconomic conditions and ignores the influence of objective factors on it.

Discussing the evolution of the sociopolitical orientation of the Catholic Church in Lithuania in conditions of the socialist system, J. Anicas shows that the overwhelming majority of the clergy went over to a position of loyalty toward socialism, but this does not mean that religion has changed. He notes the necessity of analysis of the causes and essence of the processes which are taking place in the church under the influence of the major changes in the contemporary society, and the restructuring of atheist propaganda in conformity with this. Although the Second Vatican Council did not exert any substantial influence on religious believers in Lithuania in the sense of activating their religious life, an important task of ideological activity, J. Anicas emphasizes in his writings, disclosure of the true meaning and purpose of the latest techniques, methods and forms of defense and renewal of religious views and conceptions.

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Soviet Lithuanian scholars carefully study differentiation within Catholicism, revealing the significant inhomogeneity among the social strata of religious believers. Although there is no fundamental difference in world view among different segments, they differ from one another in methods and view of the tasks of the philosophy of Catholicism. Here, just as in religion as a whole, two trends are noted: dogmatic and modernist. Investigating the sources of these trends, Lithuanian Soviet philosophers reveal the genesis of contemporary Catholic Phiphilosophy. For example, in a book by B. Kuzmickas entitled "Contemporary Catholic Philosophy,"11 a special section deals with this question, entitled "Catholic Philosophy of the 19th Century." Here the author examines romantic Catholicism (traditionalism), the religious philosophy of A. Rasmini-Serbazzi and V. Giaberzi, the irrationalism of J. Newman, social doctrine, Catholicism and its philosophy in Lithuania in the 19th century. The author correctly notes the principal line of Catholic philosophy of the 19th century -- strengthening of irrationalism. Mystical elements of the most significant cultural currents of the century (romanticism) and prominent philosophers (Hegel and others) are utilized thereby. In spite of its conservatism, Catholicism keeps a close watch on the advances of philosophy and endeavors to utilize them to strengthen its own position. The social doctrine of Catholic philosophy in the 19th century underwent certain changes, which are due to social factors, in particular the growing civic activeness of the lowest level of the clergy. This book by B. Kuzmickas interestingly describes the struggle between the liberal and reactionary Catholic movement.

One of the principal persons behind renewal of Catholic social doctrine was F. Lamennais, the activities of whom signaled the beginning of the Christian democratic movement. Renewal ideas were disseminated by (K. de Ku, F. Azanam) and others. In spite of statements which were particularly sharply critical of capital and private ownership, they remained entirely within the realm of early Christian utopian illusions. The author also examines the views of German philosophers F. Bader, (I. Geres), I. Guenther, and J. Froschammer, Spanish philosopher J. Balmez, Polish philosophers F. Kozlowski and J. Zachowski, Italian philosophers A. Rasmini-Serbazzi and V. Giaberzi, and British philosopher J. Newman. The author reveals their bond with the ideology of Catholicism. B. Kuzmickas deserves particular credit for his systematic presentation of the content of Catholic modernism of the 20th century. The author was the first to analyze the modernization of Catholic ideology in different countries. The Catholic modernism movement began at the end of the 19th century. It involved primarily France, Italy, Germany, Great Britain (especially Scotland), and Switzerland and "...was of great significance for the history of contemporary Catholicism." The modernist movement began with scrutiny of the history of the Bible and church dogmas; the modernists felt the influence of various philosophical schools -- the intuitivism of H. Bergson, the irrationalism of F. Schleermacher, neo-Kantianism and pragmatism. This reflected the general trend of bourgeois philosophy of the era of imperialism toward irrationalism, agnosticism, and pessimism. This trend was most highly developed, as B. Kuzmickas notes, in France, where (A. Lauzi), I. Leroi, M. Blandel, and L. Labertanier were its most important representatives. Their views are inconsistent, often conflictive, and essentially eclectic, for they attempt to combine historicism, science and religion. The lack of a philosophical integrity is the principal feature of this movement.

In contrast to Thomism, the representatives of modernism seek to ground faith not in rational-mystical concepts but in inner experience, the need of the individual,

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exaggerating the emotional and intuitive elements in perceiving the world. The element of the individual is raised to an absolute, and personal experience takes precedence over objective laws. Possible within this movement is a return to the fold of official Catholicism (M. Blandel) and, on the contrary, movement to the position of liberal (bourgeois) atheism (P. Alfarik), which is actually a result of the unceasing ideological struggle in the capitalist countries. Without taking account of the conflicts within society, one cannot gain a deep understanding of the conflicts between modernist thinking and bourgeois thinking as a whole. These contradictions are also characteristic of Italian (B. Labanca, E. Buanaiuzzi, and R. Mura), German (A. Erhard), British (H. Tyrell) and other modernists. The competent analysis of the modernist movement in Catholicism presented by Lithuanian Soviet scholars helps one more deeply comprehend the contemporary situation in Catholicism.

Modernism as a trend, however, was being undermined by official Catholicism and being gradually transformed into other philosophical schools, in particular into "Christian philosophy of values," which is closely linked with the philosophical school of phenomenology, as well as into religious existentialism and personalism. A major role was played in this process by the views of certain bourgeois philosophers (E. Guserl, W. James), and especially the phenomenology of M. Scheller. We should also note at this point the unique statement of the problem by B. Kuzmickas. Bourgeois philosophy of the era of imperialism was becoming increasingly more "religious," which was clearly revealed in the system of M. Scheller (1874-1928). A disciple of Guserl, he considered the philosophy of his teacher to be excessively "worldly": the idea of God or divinity should form the basis of philosophy. Scheller, as B. Kuzmickas points out, seeks to validate the Christian (Catholic) tradition by returning to the experience of the individual and to the hierarchy of values. Linking "religious tradition" and sophisticated forms of philosophizing is a characteristic feature of bourgeois thought.

As Kuzmickas notes, two trends are noted in contemporary Catholicism — progressivism and integrationism. Representatives of the former seek to modernize contemporary Catholicism, but they are encountering opposition by the integrationists. Others seek to keep Catholicism unchanged. Soviet Lithuanian philosophers, together with scholars of the other republics in the Soviet Union, are investigating the ideological evolution of the philosophy of Catholicism, various modernist trends within it, and attitudes toward them by the Vatican, which seeks to maintain the traditions, the essence of Catholicism, and which at the same time is compelled to maneuver and to take into account the increased influence of science and the social liberation movement, and therefore to one degree or another accepts certain modernist theses. The turn to modernism by no means signifies a radical change in philosophy. It more likely means an attempt to renovate it, to make it "contemporary," to adapt it to the era. Such a conclusion is reached by the investigator.

All these complicated processes are taken into consideration by Soviet Lithuanian scholars in concrete atheistic propaganda and in studying religion. Investigators demonstrate how the successes of genuine socialism, socialist democracy and socialist humanism create conditions for the extensive spread of the Communist philosophy and for overcoming religious belief. The philosophers of the Lithuanian SSR have accomplished considerable fruitful work in the area of critiquing contemporary Catholicism in the various aspects of its adaptation to the modern day and in an inseparable link with the tasks of the ideological struggle and Communist

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indoctrination of Soviet citizens. Characteristic of these scholarly investigations is sound scholarly argumentation, an aggressive character, an inseparable bond with practical reality, good knowledgeability, "fast response" and, most important, Communist conviction, ardor, willingness and preparedness to defend one's convictions.

Soviet scholars have accomplished significant achievements in elaboration of the problems of theory and history of the Catholic Church. At the same time one must agree with B. Ya. Ramm's comment that the problems of contemporary Catholicism have not yet been adequately studied. 12 He notes that "the problems of history of religion and atheism should not be relegated to a position of secondary importance, for a lack of serious Marxist studies makes it easier to apply falsification in these questions by foreign clergymen and does detriment to the cause of atheist indoctrination. "13

An analysis of the multifaceted literature dealing with critique of Catholicism published in the Lithuanian SSR convinces one that deficiencies in literature critiquing Catholicism can be corrected to a substantial degree by publishing a number of studies by Lithuanian philosophers and historians in the Russian language for more extensive acquaintance with these writings by the scientific community and propagandists of scientific atheism.

FOOTNOTES

- "Katolitsizm v SSSR i sovremennost' (Materialy nauchnoy konferentsii, sostoyavsheysya 17-18 dekabrya 1969 g. v g. Shyaulyay)" [Catholicism in the USSR and the Present Day (Proceedings of a Scientific Conference Held on 17-18 December 1969 in Shyaulyay)], Vilnius, 1971; "Katolitsizm i sovremennaya idologicheskaya bor'ba (Materialy nauchnoy konferentsii, Vilnyus, 11-12 dekabrya 1975 g.)" [Catholicism and the Contemporary Ideological Struggle (Proceedings of a Scientific Conference, Vilnius, 11-12 December 1975)], Vilnius, 1975.
- 2. B. Poskute, "Ateistine literatura," Vilnius, 1979, 158 pages.
- 3. R. Pleckaitis, "Feodalizmo laikotarpio filosofija Lietuvoje. Filosofija Lietuvos mokyklose XVI-XVIII amziais," Vols 1-2, Vilnius, Mintis, 1975, 527 pages; B. Genselis, "Svietejai ir ju idejos Lietuvoje (XIX a)," Vilnius, Mintis, 1972, 208 pages; J. Barzdaitis, "Religijos kilme ir kitimas. Ikiproletariniu ateistu paziuru Lietuvoje marksistine analize," Vilnius, Mintis, 1976, 238 pages.
- 4. "Ideologicheskaya bor'ba i molodezh'" [The Ideological Struggle and Youth], Vilnius, 1972; "Proyavleniya antikommunizma v litovskoy emigratsii" [Manifestations of Anticommunism in the Lithuanian Emigré Community], Vilnius, 1973; "Kritika sovremennykh burzhuaznykh fal'sifikatsiy v osveshchenii sotsialisticheskikh preobrazovaniy Pribaltiki" [Critique of Contemporary Bourgeois Falsifications in Discussion of Socialist Reforms in the Baltic], Riga, Zinatna, 1974, 272 pages; "Katolitsizm i sovremennaya ideologicheskaya bor'ba" [Catholicism

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- and the Contemporary Ideological Struggle], Vilnius, 1975, 299 pages; "Ideologine kova ir jaunimas," Vilnius, 1972, 211 pages; "Antikomunizmo apraiskos Lietuviu, burzuazineje emigracijije," Vilnius, 1973, 107 pages.
- 5. "Katolitsizm i natsiya" [Catholicism and Nation], Vilnius, 1971; "Religiya v mnogonatsional'nom mire" [Religion in a Multinational World], Vilnius, 1978.
- 6. "Pribaltivskaya reaktsionnaya emigratsiya segodnya (Litovskaya, Latyshskaya i estonskaya emigratsiya na sluzhbe imperializma)" [The Baltic Reactionary Emigré Community Today (Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Emigré Community in the Service of Imperialism)], Riga, Zinatne, 1979, 235 pages.
- 7. V. Niunka, "Nuo Vatikano Pirmojo iki Vatikano Antrojo," Vilnius, Valst polit ir moksl. lit. 1-kla, 1963, 91 pages; "Socialiniai katalikybes mitai," Vilnius, Mintis, 1965, 208 pages; "Vatikanas ir antikomunizmas," Vilnius, Mintis, 1970, 278 pages; "Klerikalines patijos ir Vatikanas. Krikscioniu demokratu partijos ir Vatikanas...," Vilnius, Mintis, 1974, 80 pages.
- 8. Niunka, "Zingsnis pirmyn ar atgal. Apte pirmaja, Jono Povilo II enciklika," MOKSLAS IR GYVENIMAS, No 5, 1979, pp 6-7.
- 9. J. Anicas, "Katalikiskasis klerikalizmas Lietuvoje 1940-1944 m.," Vilnius, Mintis, 1972, 256 pages; "Socialinis, politinis kataliku baznycios vaidmio Lietuvoje 1945-1952 m.," Vilnius, 1972, 212 pages; "Katalikiskasis klerikalizmas Lietuvoje pereinamuoja is kapitalizmo i socialisma laikotarpiu," Vilnius, Mintis, 1976, 193 pages; "The Establishment of Socialism in Lithuania and the Catholic Church," Vilnius, Mintis, 1975, 127 pages.
- 10. J. Anicas and J. Maciulis, "Katalikybes evoliucija socializmo salygomis," Vilnius, Mintis, 1979, 127 pages.
- 11. B. Kuzmickas, "Sinolaikine katalikiskoji filosofija," Vilnius, Mintis, 1976, 208 pages.
- 12. B. Ya. Ramm, "Problems of Philosophy and History of Catholicism in the Writings of Soviet Scholars (1967-1977)," in the volume "Aktual'nyye problemy izucheniya istorii religii i ateizma" [Current Problems of Study of the History of Religion and Atheism], Leningrad, 1979, page 166.
- 13. Ibid.

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REGIONAL

BOOK ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, ETHNIC TENSTONS IN MOLDAVIA REVIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 81 pp 184-187

[Review by G.V. Starovoytova of the book "Opyt etnosotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya obraza zhizni (po materialam Moldavskoy SSR) ["An Attempt at an Ethno-Sociological Study of a Way of Life (On the Basis of the Materials of the Moldavian SSR)"], Responsible Editor--Yu.V. Arutyunyan, Editors--L.M. Drobizheva and V.S. Zelenchuk, Moscow, 1980, 268 pages]

[Text] The first thing that one wishes to take note of in speaking about this new book by a collective of ethnosociologists is that it establishes a new stage of research in accordance with the plan "An Optimization of the Socio-Cultural Conditions for the Development and Coming Together of Nations in the USSR" which is being carried out by the concrete social research sector of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the direction of Yu.V. Arutyunyan. At the previous stage the methodological premises and general tendencies of a study of the processes of the economic, social, and cultural development of peoples which are characteristic of the country as a whole were mapped out. This stage was also concluded by the publication of a collective monograph. 1

During the last decade the multi-national population of the cities and villages of our country's union republics was the subject of study. The qualitatively new approach to social phenomena which has been employed in a number of republics (in Estonia, Uzbekistan, Georgia, and others) is reflected with the greatest fullness in the monograph under review which is devoted to a study of the present-day way of life of the population of Moldavia.

The study is of an overall character and embraces the ethnic characteristics of phenomena both of the base and superstructural spheres of social development. Thus, with more detail than at the first stage of the realization of the research plan, there is an analysis of the socio-professional structure of the population, the phenomena of vertical and horizontal social mobility, and also of the level of the claims of urban and rural inhabitants in the sphere of labor.

A wide range of sources, including the periodical press, the reports of cultural institutions and creative unions, and others was enlisted to study activities outside of production—everyday life, leisure, and culture. These materials provided an important supplement to the data of an ethno-sociological questionmaire on the

behavior of the respondents in the sphere of leisure, including behavior connected with the consumption of artistic values. The use of these sources made it possible to compare actual behavior with the preferable behavior which was disclosed with the belp of the "projected situations" that were proposed during the course of the questionnaire.

In order to characterize the ethno-cultural orientations of the respondents a new concept is introduced in the book--"The Syndrome of the Level of International Expression in Culture"; this, as the authors conceive it, are "combined orientations toward the national, extra-national, and international." (page 8) As during the previous stages of the all-union ethno-sociological study, the questionmaire was conducted in accordance with a program which makes it possible to construct several scales of variables that correspond to continuums of the following ethno-cultural orientations: national-international, folk-professional, traditional-modern.

The sphere of family life is examined in the book in no less detail than the field of cultural consumption. As these spheres were compared during the course of the study a check was made of the hypothesis regarding a decrease in ethnic uniqueness on the scale of "labor-culture-family life," and also of the hypothesis regarding an inter-generational decrease in the role of the ethnic element in culture.

It is important to note that research was conducted for all of the above-named thematic lines not only among the native nationality--Moldavians,--but also among Russian and other smaller ethnic groups in the population of Moldavia (Ukrainians, Gagauz, Jews, Bulgarians, and others). This is another new feature of the present stage of ethno-sociological research. Both the urban and the rural populations of the republic were studied on the basis of similar programs.

The use of cohort analysis for a study of the dynamics of ethno-cultural orientations is also methodologically valuable, since "like living historical monuments, in their habits, interests, and features people of different generations reflect to a definite extent the dominating tendencies of their time." (p 14)

The monograph under review reflects the main characteristic of the current stage of ethno-sociology—an attempt to consistently employ at all of the stages of research (from the formulation of its theoretical premises to the operational level of the development of concrete methodologies) the category of "way of life" which makes it possible to unite all of the many-sided empirical materials into an integrated conceptual picture. The introduction to the work takes interesting note of the different approaches of the different social sciences and sciences (including sociology and ethno-sociology) to way of life studies. The authors share one of the points of view which is widespread in sociology regarding the content of the concept of "way of life" which is interpreted as the aggregate of the objective conditions for life and of the very forms of life. In accordance with this understanding, both materials on the "communal and social conditions of way of life" and information "characterizing the way of life (behavior) itself of socio-ethnic groups" was collected. (p 9) Indeed, everyday behavior can be established relatively easily on the basis of mass empirical material. A study of the motives for

activity and of the interaction between the psychological and behavioral aspects of way of life is a methodologically more difficult task; however, the creators of the program found a way to accomplish it, obtaining during the course of the sociological questionnaire data not only about the actual state of affairs in the sphere of labor, culture, everyday life, and interpersonal relations, but also about desires and preferences in these spheres, about the level of satisfaction of the respondents and so forth.

A detailed consideration of the objectively developed specific nature of economic, demographic, and other spheres (the predominance of rural inhabitants; a larger number of large cities than on the average in the country; intensive migrations into cities; a consideration of the historical characteristics of the development of Right-Bank and Left-Bank Moldavia, and others) permits the authors to give a many-sided description of the republic's population, and also a detailed socioecological characterization of the environment.

An important characteristic of this region is its highest, compared with the other republics of the USSR, population density (117 people per square kilometer), and also its substantial predominance of rural population (in 1979 61 percent of Moldavia's inhabitants lived in villages, while in the country as an average the proportion of the rural population is 38 percent).

Proceeding from a three-member typology of urbanization levels (from low, with substantial differences between urban and rural ways of life, to high which removes these differences and decreases the orientation of rural inhabitants to migrate to the cities), 4 present-day Moldavia can be classified as having an average urbanization level. The transformation of rural life, the assimilation by rural inhabitants of the values of urban culture, and an increase in their overall mobility--all of this, in combination with the preservation of the actual cultural and everyday differences between the village and the city, makes it desirable and, because of the insufficiency of labor resources in the city, also possible for substantial groups of rural inhabitants to move to the city. The development of social consciousness outstrips the actual process of migration into cities, which is expressed in the appreciation by the respondents of the advantages of an urban way of life. (p 126) It is not accidental that one-half of the republic's urban population has been formed through the mechanical migration of able-bodied ages from the villages.

Analyzing the dynamics of the socio-professional structure, the authors demonstrate the intensive changes in it and a high level of mobility, although this structure bears the stamp of historically developed settlement systems (village-city) and of an inter-ethnic division of labor. With the appearance of a socio-professional structure of a single type, orientations in the sphere of labor activity grow closer to one another among the different nationalities. In our opinion, the book provides a correct interpretation of social expectations with respect to labor and of the diversity of motives for being satisfied or dissatisfied with work; in addition, account is taken both of the content of labor and of its prestige and of its dependence upon the level of the claims which have developed among the different educational groups. There is an interesting examination of the differentiation of the degree of satisfaction with work among the representatives of the different nationalities within a single socio-professional structure. At first glance it is

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a surprise that in the different groups (among low-skill workers and high-skill workers, and also among the intelligentsia) there was a relatively larger number of Moldavians who were not completely satisfied with the content of their work (approximately by 18-25 percent) than Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and Gagauz (pp 54-55), and this despite the high rates of social growth among the Moldavian population which in the past was basically the agrarian. It is possible that this can be explained precisely by the accelerated urbanization and the social mobility of the Moldavians, which leads to increased demands upon the content of labor which in certain cases may overtake the actual possibilities of production technology.

Different rates of vertical social mobility serve as one of the levers for equalizing the socio-professional structures of the different ethnic groups, which, in its turn, is the real basis for increasing the fundamental similarity in ways of life of all Soviet peoples (p 69) and bringing closer to one another the ethnoses with regard to the most important cultural-everyday and socio-psychological characteristics.

The section on the psychological aspects of national relations not only reveals the conditions which are characteristic on the whole for the Soviet way of life and which promote the development of friendly inter-national relations in our country, but also examines the influence on this process of such factors as changes in the social structure of peoples which come into contact with one another, the circumstances of their cultural development, and national-cultural orientations in each region.

The actual social status of women and their socio-psychological makeup, particularly their values, is a very important emperical indicator of the changes in the everyday family sphere. With regard to these indicators, the younger generation of Moldavian women is markedly different from the older women. A higher level of education strengthens the orientation toward the labor sphere of life and toward attaining the respect of society, and a withdrawal from narrow family interests. (pp 88-92) The analysis of intra-family conflicts which are connected with the changes in the traditional ideas about male and female family roles is very interesting (p 95 and following). The relatively higher level of satisfaction with family life among men (p 98), it seems to us, is explained by two groups of factors: a) the partial preservation of the inequality of women in everyday life; b) the contradiction between the declared rejection of a "double standard" in behavior and the actually existing inertia of norms which are still different for men and women.

There is no doubt that the part of the study which is devoted to the common socio-psychological interests of the representatives of the different nationalities which live in Moldavia is of especial value. It shows up in their selection of the most important values in life (in their answers to the question: "What is essential in order to feel happy?"). The ethnic differences in ranking such values as family, interesting work, the respect of people, material well-being, conditions for creativity, and others proved to be extremely negligible, but, in our opinion, they reflect to a certain extent the historically developed characteristics of the "national character" of different peoples (see the data on the distribution of choices on p 151 of the monograph). The differentiated analysis of the choices of the most important life orientations by the different age and social groups makes it possible to determine the inter-generational dynamics of social expectations and their dependence upon professional occupations.

The question regarding distinguished people of the past and present who are respected by the respondent is used with wit in the monograph as an indicator of ethno-cultural and socio-political interests.

One should include among the virtues of this section of the study the presence in it of data about the level of the religiousness (p 155-156) of the population of different generations—this information which, unfortunately, is rarely found in the publications of ethno-sociologists is, in addition to scientific, of great practical value.

The monograph provides a truly exhaustive review of the cultural life of the republic and a deep and full description of linguistic processes. The size of this review does not allow a treatment of all of these aspects of the study; let us only note that one of its methodological finds is an analysis of the factors involved in the establishment of bilingualism among the different groups of the urban population, and also a determination of the "index of the school factor"; that is, the relationship of the proportion of school instruction in a second language to the sum of all of the other factors in the development of bilingualism. Among the virtues of the work one should name its study of the development of the sociolinguistic parameters of bilingualism (competence, activity, and orientation toward a second language) among the Moldavians, Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, and other peoples of Moldavia and of the correlation between linguistic processes and socio-psychological features, production activity, and way of life stereotypes (thapter 5, paragraph 2).

One of the monograph's sections is devoted to the very important question of interpersonal relations between the representatives of the different nationalities in the republic. It is natural, that the basic arena for inter-ethnic contacts is the city, since its population is poly-ethnic. The analysis of the national composition of the respondents' families and of their attitude toward work in nationally mixed collectives and toward marriages between their relatives and representatives of other nationalities speaks of the existence of solid friendly relations between the peoples which live in Moldavia. A characteristic of interpersonal associations among peoples which are developing at especially rapid rates which has been noted by the authors is interesting: the norms for interpersonal relations which have been adopted by the youth exercise an influence on the views of their parents, that is, people of the older generation (p 206).

The two generalized models in the concluding section are striking. One of themagraph of statistical relationships and of prospects for the transformation of the characteristics "nationality" and a block of the characteristics "labor," "culture," and "family" (p 246) differ advantageously from the schemes which are frequently used in sociological texts with their generalness and the graphicness of the tendencies they illustrate (a weakening of the connection between nationality and the labor sphere, a strengthening of the connection between the sphere of labor and culture, the great importance of national-cultural characteristics, and others).

The other model—a conventional socio-cultural portrait of the "comprehensively developed personality" (p 246) includes five spheres of social activity which are

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singled out in a conventionally-expert manner as criteria for the comprehensiveness of development: a rise in educational levels, athletic and artistic activities, reading, the education of children, and public work. A successful method is found for employing this five-member description model for disclosing the degree to which comprehensively active individuals are widespread in the different socio-demographic and national groups.

One also wishes to take note of the completeness and accessibility of the methodological material which is described in the appendix and which can be used directly in sociological studies (methods of planning and siting the sample, an evaluation of how representative it is), or for a general orientation with certain mathematical methods and indicators (the form of issuing materials from computers, measure of information, entrophy, the informational coefficient of relations, and others). Given the present accumulation of the empirical materials of ethno-sociological studies, it is extremely useful to have the possibility of comparing the indicators of analogous coefficients for pairs of characteristics—the matrix of relations coefficients which is cited in the appendix provides this kind of possibility.

The book is not free of certain shortcomings. As frequently happens with collective monographs, while there is a general thematic harmony, individual sections differ stylistically—from strict academic style to a journalistic style.

Sometimes an endeavor to throw light on all of the aspects of the republic's life which are disclosed in this overall study (labor, culture, everyday life, association, the socio-political sphere, demographic and ecological conditions, and so forth) blocks out the very important and chief line—a study of a way of life which is not simply a component of the processes which occur in different spheres, but a resultant overall phenomenon.

Despite these individual defects, the book represents an unquestionable success for the creative collective of ethno-sociologists.

The tendencies which have been studied in the ethnic processes occurring in the Moldavian SSR testify to the coming together of the most important aspects of the ways of life of different groups. "At the same time, social community and unity in way of life by no means signifies a leveling off of national characteristics. On the contrary, national traditions make the expression of a single social essence more diverse, in keeping with the historical forms of the culture of each nation."(p 231)

The general tendencies which are disclosed during the course of the study are synthesized with methodological success in the concluding section by means of the construction of interrelationship graphs for the characteristics being studied. The monograph's final conclusions once again confirm the correctness of the criterion of the optimality of ethno-cultural processes which is adopted at the first stage of the ethno-sociological study: an enrichment of national culture with the achievements of other cultures while retaining specific progressive elements; and the realization and embodiment of the general in the special, national-specific.

I believe that this new book by the country's leading ethno-sociological collective will be a landmark in the development of this interdisciplinary field of knowledge

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and will be welcomed with interest by a wide range of specialists who will acquaint themselves not only with the directions of new research, but also with an advanced methodological arsenal.

FOOTNOTES

- L. See "Sotsial'noye i natsional'noye. Opyt etnosotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya [Social and National. Attempt at an Ethnosociological Study]", Moscow, 1973.
- See "Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki o Sovetskoy Estonii [Sociological Essays on Soviet Estonia]", Tallin, 1979.
- See, for example, "Prognozirovaniye v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh.
 Metolodogicheskiye problemy [Forecasting in Sociological Studies. Methodological Problems]", Ed. I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, Moscow, "Mys1'" 1978, p. 240.
- 4. L. A. Gordon, "The General in the Particular: Sociological Essays on Estonia", SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA No 4, 1980, p. 189. Review of book "Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki o Sovetskoy Estonii [Sociological Essays on Soviet Estonia]", Tallinn, 1979.

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